642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 313."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

622 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained such eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

[642] Spier reported that in 1920 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.